601 husbands or wives, or of the true father or mother compared to the theoretical "fathers" or "mothers," or of true sons or daughters as compared to theoretical "sons" and "daughters." In most cases, the discrimination seems totally superfluous to the Indians, since it is so well accented by the differences of behavior. Sometimes also it seems useless because of the inverse of the preceding, the theoretical wife can become a real wife (for example in case of polygamy, or of remarriage), the theoretical father or mother, or the theoretical son [608] or daughter, can play the role of true father or mother, or of true son or daughter, through the mechanism of adoption. This functions automatically, in the case of the father's death, the child then being [22] [768] taken in and raised by its father's brother. In this case his father's brother, whom he has always called father, becomes for him a real father even though by substitution, and the wife of his father's brother, who is most often his mother's sister, and whom he has consequently always called mother, is from then on treated by him as such, especially if his own mother is dead or has remarried. However, sometimes the Indians wish to sharpen the theoretical character of the name. Then they add to the classifying term a descriptive term, whose approximate meaning is that of "relative" in the most general sense, as,

20. (akit) a'dnisu,

used in the substantive form above, or in the participial form a'dnere; or in the exclamatory form, in conversation, a'dneram.

Thus we have found the following appelations,

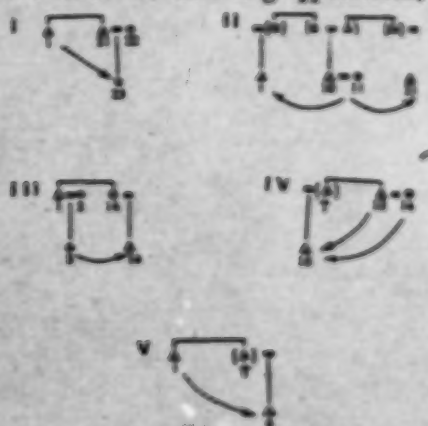

Fig. 3

I. a'kineru a'dneram. --II. (t)oyensaesu a'dnisu. III. oyensaesu a'dnisu (among children). IV. tayettu a'kiraru a'dneram. --V. akineram (a'kirare a'dneram).

601 are found which complete (or substitute for) the classifying terms a2e'inosu, asoinosu, ahuinosu, a2ke'nosu:

27. arindagresu : "mother's mother";
28. oyensserosu : "mother's father";
29. aseetagresu : "father's mother";
30. aldinarusu : "father's father";
31. a2e'ndagresu : "sister of the mother's mother."

The etymology of the terms verifies the principal of marriage of cross-cousins. In fact, if one has:

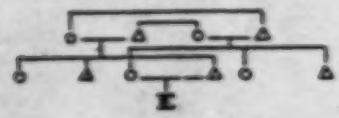

Fig. 4.

it is established that:

arindagresu (or arindakerosu, "little old sister"), is the sister of my father's father;

oyensserosu (from oyensaesu, "husband") is the husband of my mother's mother;

aseetagresu (or aseetakerosu, "old sister-in-law") is the sister-in-law of my mother's mother;

aldinarusu (from aldusu, "brother") is the brother of my mother's mother.

Concerning uncles and aunts, their name is sharpened by descriptive terms:

32. aka'ntagresu, atakarusu: "mother's sister";
33. akaterosu : "mother's brother";
34. aya'dnosu : "father's sister."

No descriptive term has been found for the father's brother, normally called father (ahuinosu); perhaps this lack is to be explained by his position as father in case of the blood father's death.

[760]

On the other hand, the following descriptive terms have been collected in the course of attempts at geneological reconstructions, but it was not possible to determine for certain the levels or degrees of parentage to which they refer. It is possible that they are employed jointly with certain of the preceding terms:

conscious function the bringing of psychological compensations incommensurable among themselves, rather than for establishing equivalences of value.

The Nambikwara have two types of burial. The eastern groups practice double interment. The bodies are first placed in a crouching position (ãriuaerekitiu, al) in a circular ditch (sinitakuritu, al) seven feet deep heaped up with earth and branches. For two months, they sing, dance and weep around this provisional tomb, until the body is decomposed. Then the bones are carried to the river where they are carefully washed. Then they are carried in a cloth to be permanently buried in the village. The village is then abandoned, but the site is often visited:

53. ayregande aũnikere kadukirage iaxtige ende ende ende inare inaretaire sinoribate (bl)
to dig the grave, to close it, to wait one moon, one moon, one moon, to take out the bones, to bury them in the village.

In the central groups, on the other hand, the bodies would be buried (aoẽnkere, bl) in a prone position (iõtarige, bl).

The funeral rites distinguish between movable goods and immovable goods. The first are carefully destroyed; they break and burn the weapons; they unravel the beads and necklaces.

The garden of the dead man, if he cultivated one, is, however, only abandoned, and can be reclaimed later:

54. doõre dutige adede aitadatige audotahãmdige audotaãmde odenebeire odunhinde niactumnie narainidande naradutige afredugeiõtige den den den nagiaode aire dugiotige tiatugiõtige (bl)
The arrows are broken, everything must be broken the beads are unstrung, the beads of the deceased, the fields of the deceased are abandoned one moon, one moon, one moon, and when all is forgotten, another takes the field.

Yet it is necessary to avoid confusion on this point. Strictly speaking, there is no land property among the Nambikwara. The chief invites his men to group together to cultivate the gardens, but sometimes such and such an individual decides to clear a field on his own account. These personal appropriations do not give rise to any incidents since the cultivatable land is usually far larger than the collective needs. However, a garden represents a value, because of the considerable amount of work spent in clearing it, especially for people who have never seen metal tools until 30 years ago. Also the rule of destruction of the goods of the deceased respects the

621 Eléitaru band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tapidaiuru* (grandfather) and the term *quatakitiriru* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *ouiniru* (father) and the term *akakitiriru* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *akaiwaru* and mother's brother *ouiwaru*. A man calls his older brother *akwadiwaru*, his younger brother *dwadidiriru*, and his sisters *ewadiwaru*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akiriru*) and daughter (*akwairu*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *ouatu* and *oeiatu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *aeikiriru* and that for female cross cousin, *dwairu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatadiawaru*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*aaiwa*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*ewaairu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*aeiwaru*), and mother-in-law (*akaiwaru*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Eléitaru woman all the wives in Julio's band were Wakitiriu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of

587 the husband the wife and children pass to the

● 768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-

591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an
[76] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

362 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

362 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be
[84] termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paressi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.